

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 008357

61

ORIGIN EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 /023 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/CE:JCKORNBLUM:KP

APPROVED BY EUR/CE:DANDERSON

EUR/PP:WZIMMERMAN

----- 082213

P R 132236Z JAN 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USBERLIN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T STATE 008357

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, WB, GW

SUBJECT: ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT ON BERLIN

REF: A.) STATE 289641 B.) STATE 221154

FOR AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND AND MINISTER GEORGE FROM  
EUR/CE DIRECTOR ANDERSON

1. WORK IS PROBABLY WELL ALONG ON THE ANNUAL POLICY  
ASSESSMENT FOR BERLIN. WE THOUGHT, HOWEVER, THAT YOU MIGHT  
FIND IT USEFUL, EVEN AT THIS SOMEWHAT LATE DATE, TO BE  
AWARE OF SOME OF THE MAIN CONCERNS WE IN EUR/CE HAVE ABOUT  
BERLIN AND SOME OF THE THINGS WE WOULD BE ESPECIALLY  
INTERESTED IN HEARING ABOUT IN THIS YEAR'S PAPER.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 008357

2. FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, MAJOR ISSUES CONCERNING BERLIN

DURING 1975 DID NOT CENTER ABOUT THE TRADITIONAL QUESTIONS OF ACCESS, VIABILITY OR EVEN THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITION OF THE POPULATION. DESPITE THE EXPECTED DIFFICULTIES WITH THE SOVIETS IN A VARIETY OF FIELDS, IT SEEMED TO US AS IF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT HAD INDEED HELPED TO GUARANTEE THE CONTINUED HEALTH OF THE CITY, AT LEAST OVER THE SHORT TO MEDIUM TERM.

3. THE ISSUES WHICH CAUSED US THE PROBLEMS DURING THE PAST YEAR WERE CONCENTRATED IN TWO OTHER AREAS:

A. THE EVOLVING ROLE OF BERLIN-RELATED ISSUES IN BROADER FRG POLICIES TOWARDS THE EAST, ESPECIALLY THE GDR, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH FRG NEEDS WILL AFFECT OUR OWN POLICIES VIS-A-VIS GERMANY, EAST AND WEST EUROPE AND THE USSR.

B. THE DIFFICULTIES IN MAINTAINING ALLIED-GERMAN CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION IN THE FACE OF THE BROADER FRG INTERESTS CONNECTED WITH THE SITUATION IN BERLIN.

4. THESE MATTERS CAME TO A HEAD DURING DECEMBER WITH CONCLUSION OF THE INNER-GERMAN TRAFFIC NEGOTIATIONS. WHILE WE FULLY SUPPORTED FRG GOALS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, WE WERE NOT PLEASED WITH THE WAY IN WHICH IMPORTANT DETAILS WHICH DIRECTLY AFFECTED OUR POSITION IN BERLIN WERE WITHHELD FROM US UNTIL THE VERY LAST MINUTE. THE CONSULTATIONS IN THE PERIOD BEFORE CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, EVEN DURING THE QUAD MEETINGS IN DECEMBER IN BRUSSELS, WERE NOT SUFFICIENT, DESPITE REPEATED ASSURANCES IN THE BONN GROUP THAT WE WOULD BE GIVEN ALL THE INFORMATION WE NEEDED.

5. WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN RAKING THIS ISSUE OVER THE COALS AFTER THE FACT, BUT SIMPLY WISH TO POINT TO IT AS THE MOST CURRENT EXAMPLE OF THE TYPE OF ISSUE WE THINK SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN THE POLICY ASSESSMENT. WE ARE WELL AWARE OF THE INTERNAL POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS, BOTH IN BERLIN AND BONN, WHICH OFTEN DICTATE BERLIN POLICY AND OF THE DIFFERENCES WHICH HAVE ARISEN BETWEEN THE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 008357

BONN AND BERLIN SPD ON SUCH QUESTIONS. WE ALSO FULLY UNDERSTAND THE PRESSING NEED THE FRG FEELS, FOR EXAMPLE, ON THE QUESTION OF FRG-BERLIN TIES. OFFICIALS IN BONN AND BERLIN MUST SOMETIMES BE FRUSTRATED AT WHAT THEY PROBABLY REGARD AS LESS THAN FULL COMPREHENSION OF THESE MATTERS IN ALLIED CAPITALS. INDEED, THERE MAY NOT HAVE BEEN SUFFICIENT DISCUSSION OF THESE ASPECTS OF THE BERLIN SITUATION HERE DURING THE PAST YEAR. THE ANNUAL

POLICY ASSESSMENT PROVIDES A GOOD VEHICLE FOR THE BEGINNINGS OF SUCH A CONSIDERATION.

6. IN ADDITION TO A DISCUSSION OF THE GENERAL SITUATION OF BERLIN AND OF ONGOING PROBLEMS WITH THE EAST, WE WOULD ALSO BE INTERESTED IN A DISCUSSION OF THE FOLLOWING SORTS OF QUESTIONS:

A. WHAT ARE THE INTERESTS, BOTH SHORT AND LONG TERM OF THE FRG AND BERLIN WHICH DETERMINE CURRENT WEST GERMAN POLICIES ON BERLIN?

B. WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF CURRENT GERMAN VIEWS ON BERLIN FOR ALLIED INTERESTS, OVER THE SHORT AND LONG TERM?

C. HOW DO THE BRITISH AND FRENCH VIEW PRESENT RELATIONS ON BERLIN? IS THERE A TRIPARTITE CONSENSUS ON WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

D. WHAT ARE THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS WHICH AFFECT GERMAN POLICIES ON BERLIN? ARE WE LIKELY TO ENCOUNTER SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES DURING THIS ELECTION YEAR?

E. IN ADDITION TO ONGOING EAST-WEST DIFFICULTIES OVER BERLIN, WHAT ARE THE ISSUES ON WHICH DIFFERENCES MIGHT ARISE BETWEEN THE ALLIES AND THE FRG AND/OR THE SENAT DURING 1976?

7. AS YOU WILL RECOGNIZE, SEVERAL OF THESE QUESTIONS DEAL AS MUCH WITH RELATIONS IN BONN, ESPECIALLY IN THE BONN GROUP, AS THEY DO WITH THE SPECIFIC SITUATION IN BERLIN. FOR THIS REASON, WE WONDER IF IT WOULD NOT  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 008357

BE USEFUL TO TRY A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT APPROACH TO THE BERLIN POLICY ASSESSMENT THIS YEAR. OUR SUGGESTION WOULD BE:

A. USBERLIN SHOULD DO THE FULL POLICY ASSESSMENT AS IN THE PAST, INCLUDING ALL ELEMENTS CONSIDERED TO BE PERTINENT. THIS WOULD BE THE OFFICIAL POLICY ASSESSMENT FOR BERLIN.

B. AS A SUPPLEMENT FOR OUR DISCUSSION OF THE ASSESSMENT IN WASHINGTON, EMBASSY BONN WOULD PREPARE A MESSAGE ON FRG BERLIN POLICY, WITH EMPHASIS ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THE THREE POWERS. THE MESSAGE COULD BE DONE CONCURRENTLY OR, AS HAS BEEN DONE IN THE PAST, THE EMBASSY COULD COMMENT ON USBERLIN'S SUBMISSION.

8. AS A FINAL NOTE, WE SHOULD STRESS THAT ART HARTMAN IS MOSTINTERESTED IN HAVING THIS YEAR'S ASSESSMENTS BE AS CANDID AS POSSIBLE ABOUT THE PROBLEMS WE WILL FACE DURING THE COMING YEAR. IT SEEMS TO US THAT BERLIN POLICY IS

ONE AREA IN WHICH THERE IS ROOM FOR DISAGREEMENT, AND THAT SUCH DISAGREEMENTS SHOULD BE REFLECTED IN THE ONE DOCUMENT WHICH ATTEMPTS A COMPREHENSIVE TREATMENT OF THE QUESTION. WHERE THERE ARE SUCH DISAGREEMENTS, BETWEEN THE ALLIES AND THE FRG, BETWEEN THE THREE POWERS OR BETWEEN BONN AND BERLIN AND/OR THE DEPARTMENT, THEY SHOULD BE PRESENTED OPENLY. AS NOTED IN PARA 3 OF REF (A), WE WOULD BE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN ANY ALTERNATIVE POLICIES YOU MIGHT WISH TO PROPOSE. KISSINGER

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLICIES, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 13 JAN 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ShawDG  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE008357  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** JCKORNBLUM:KP  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760012-0743  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760161/aaaaccbt.tel  
**Line Count:** 184  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN EUR  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ShawDG  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 29 MAR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <29 MAR 2004 by KelleyW0>; APPROVED <29 JUL 2004 by ShawDG>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT ON BERLIN  
**TAGS:** PFOR, US, WB, GE  
**To:** USBERLIN BONN  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006